811 The Russians have changed nothing with regard to the system of instruction in the old institutions in their Central Asian possessions. They /228/ built, it is true, at their own expense a number of Russian elementary schools and high schools; these are, however, primarily intended for the children of the Russian settlers, soldiers, officials and officers. The relatively small number of Russian schools attended by the natives, particularly by the Kazakhs, serve above all for the training of interpreters in the various administrative offices, for only a few of the Russian officials serving in Turkestan are familiar with the native languages. Highly commendable was the erection of Russian aul /pastoral village/ schools for the nomads, who in their wandering way of life had formerly been unable to send their children to school. The 875 teachers for the aul schools are trained for their calling in a Tashkent training college for teachers; they must have mastered Russian and the native languages, and are divided among the various nomad auls, to accompany them in their wanderings and during that time to instruct the children of the members of the aul in the first principles and in the Russian language. It will be evident that the life of such a nomadic schoolmaster, especially if he is of European origin, is not exactly enviable, from what I have said above /in section of book not translated/ about the way of life of the nomads, especially when one considers that the salary of an aul school teacher is only fifty to seventy marks a month.

342 10. Dwellings.

The characteristic family relationships and the completely seclusion of the women from the world of men demand a special construction and arrangement of the dwelling houses completely differing from our [427] own. In Turkestan each home is established only for one single family, and the institution of rented houses or even furnished rooms is com- [574] pletely unknown. If a strange guest comes to a house owner, the latter gives over to him his whole house together with furniture and servants for the length of his stay, and meanwhile seeks shelter with his family or with some one of his relatives if he does not have a second house in reserve for such occasions.

The houses are all built in the same style, and the dwellings of the rich differ from those of the poor only in the more spacious courtyards and gardens, the greater height of the walls, the larger number of rooms, the more artistic execution and the better construction material. The main point in the dwelling of each sedentary

342 Central Asian is the high outer wall which surrounds the dwelling houses, together with the gardens and courtyards belongint to them; these surround the houses on all sides, and completely shut off the outer world. These outer walls are entered from the street by only one gate, behind which a special inner wall is built in order to obstruct the view into the courtyard from the street. They form, as it were, the fortress of each house owner /229/, which no trespasser has the right to break
183 into. Within his walls the Central Asian is his own master, and the administrative authorities never venture to infringe upon the sacredness of the private dwellings, especially the women's quarters. This is what has made the collection of a more exact population census impossible up to now. For according to Central Asian mores, it is already regarded as an impertinence if one asks the father of a family only for the number of his wives and children, or about events transpiring within his four walls.

/Figure 82, p. 63a. Caption: Cross section of a Sart dwelling

1. Veranda
2. Veranda columns
3. Room door
4. Window opening
5. Hollowed place for overshoes
6. Niches in the wall
7. Smoke hole
8. Pool
9. Fodder trough
10. Alfalfa Supply for the winter
11. Terrace
12. Outer wall./

342 The space enclosed by the outer walls already mentioned is divided into two parts, which are strictly separated and are connected only by a low narrow garden gate. The larger part, lying next to the street, forms the men's quarters. Here the father of the house lives with his grown sons and the male relatives and servants who are always living with him, here he carries on his business, and receives visitors and strangers. /Figure 83, p. 63a. Foundation plan of a Sart dwelling. (The lines in the sketch indicate canals.)

1. Living rooms. 2. Veranda. 3. Sheds. 4. Outhouse. 5. Pond. 6. Terrace./ The other part is alloted exclusively for the residence of the women and children, and it may be entered only by women. Otherwise the only man allowed is the father of the /230/ house. (1)

183 1. The sacredness of the women's quarters is so great in the eyes of the Central Asians, that they are profaned even

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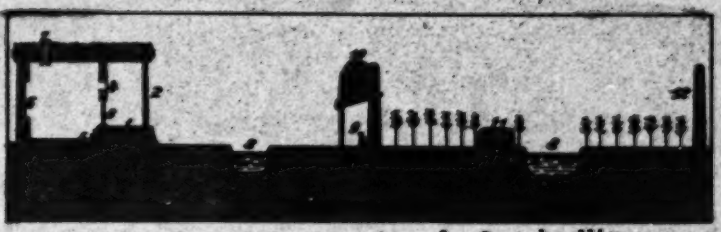

Fig. 82. Cross section of a Sart dwelling.

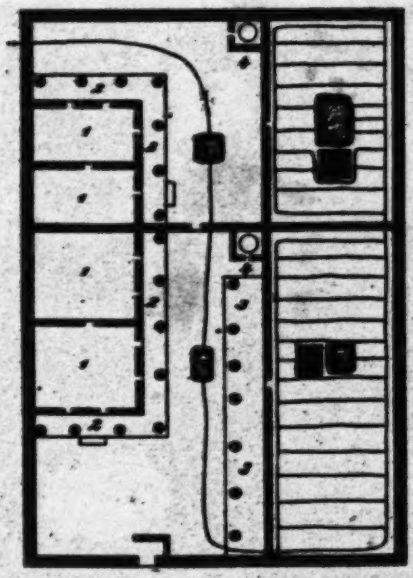

Fig. 83. Foundation plan of a Sart dwelling. (The lines in the sketch ind
canals.)

183 by the glance of a stranger. In 1886 in Baysun when I had to carry out astronomical observations from the roof of my dwelling, because there was no other suitable place, all the surrounding houses were emptied of their occupants for the night in question.

342 Each of these two parts is divided again into two or perhaps three subdivisions, depending on the circumstances: the living quarters, the courtyard and the garden, the last of which is usually lacking among the poorer people. Especially in arid regions and in towns densely built up, the inhabitants must content themselves with a simple court, while the gardens are relegated to a place outside the town walls. Where there is a garden, it is usually divided from the court and dwelling houses by a wide partition wall. As a rule, the general arrangement of the dwelling houses, sheds, courts, and gardens is that indicated in the two sketches above (Figures 82, p. 63a and 83, p. 229), of which the first shows the vertical cross section, and the second the ground plan of an average dwelling.

The dwelling houses, which consist of one or more rooms situated next to each other, the number depending upon the financial means of the owner, are built along the outer wall in such a way that this wall always forms the rear wall of the dwelling. The dwellings are almost exclusively one-story houses, which is partly due to the building material used, and partly to the frequent earthquakes. (2)

731 2. The frequency of earthquakes differs widely in different parts of Turkestan. While rare in many regions, as in Samarkand, for example, other places are often visited by earthquakes. The town of Vernoye /Alma Ata/, for example, was almost completely destroyed by one on June 9th, 1887, and since then it has felt earth tremors of greater or lesser intensity almost every day. Also in Osh, at the eastern end of the Fergana valley, there were almost daily earthquakes for a period several years ago. In Tashkent there are on the average about a dozen earthquakes in the course of a year. On the whole in Turkestan the earthquakes are light and rarely result in the caving in of houses and the loss of human life. In Tashkent I experienced only two such earthquakes in fifteen years, of which the one of November 29, 1886 was the strongest and caused considerable damage. The greatest earthquake in Turkestan of recent times was the

731 one already mentioned in Vernoye /Alma Ata/, which was felt all over Turkestan.

342 The walls of the dwelling houses are made of the same material as the town, court and garden walls, and erected in practically the same manner. In the court a large pit is dug, and the earth from it is kneaded with water and chopped straw into a sticky paste. From this large balls are formed, and these are piled up on each other and stamped down with the feet. Like the town and garden walls the house walls too are erected by layers, for the lower layer must always be allowed to dry first /231/ before a further layer can be placed on top. The straw which is mixed with the clay gives the walls great solidity, especially since the seeds remaining with the straw turn into buds under the great heat of the sun and grow through the walls in all directions, so that on the outside of newly built houses countless barley and wheat stalks are sprouting forth. Such a wall holds up much better in an earthquake than one built, no matter how solidly, of firebricks. Firebricks are not used for the building of private houses and are employed only for the larger public buildings like mosques, medreses, caravansaries, and baths, where their use is unavoidable since clay walls naturally cannot hold up under the heavier weight. In the rare cases when a dwelling house has an upper story superimposed, the walls of the second story are produced in a special manner with a combination of wood and clay. First a wooden frame of medium heavy beams is joined together and a large number of short thin wooden sticks are set in between the beams in a completely irregular fashion, usually fanwise. The spaces between the main beams and the wooden sticks are then filled in with balls of clay, and finally the whole is plastered over, inside and out, with a thick layer of clay so that nothing remains visible of the wooden framework except, at most, the ends of the main beams (cf. Figure 158). This upper story, which is not used for living quarters but only for storage, bears the Persian name bala-khana, from bala (upper) and khana (room), from which the Russian balagan (fair-booth) has obviously been derived, and probably also our "balcony".

The dwelling houses have no foundation, and they would be quite superfluous anyway because the ground, consisting of loess, has the same solidity as the walls themselves, which are constructed of the same material. The absence of foundations has the dis-

342 advantage, however, that during the rainy season the lower part of the walls absorbes moisture from the ground, which is soaked through, and the solidity of the walls suffers thereby. Some of the richer people, who usually place their dwelling places on a higher level than is usual among the huts of the poor, have the foresight to build the lowest part of the walls of firebricks for this reason, or at least to place their houses on a terrace which has been artificially raised.

The inner and outer walls of the houses remain just as they are, as a rule, and consequently they have the yellow grey color of the street floors. Whitewash of slaked lime was not formerly in use in [363] Turkestan and was introduced only by the Russians. On the other hand the rich people cover the inner walls of their dwellings with stucco work of alabaster, /232/ in the Arabic style. One finds wall frescoes only rarely. These consist of arabesques in the brightest and most vivid colors possible, or else of stylized flowers which always remind me strongly of a story in the Münchner Fliegende Blätter /Munich Broadsides (?)/ according to which a house painter who had been advanced to a room painter put the flowers and leaves on the walls to be decorated by dipping his hands alternately in red and green paint, then pressing them to the wall with outspread fingers and finally adding the stems to the flowers and leaves with a stroke of a brush.

The roofs of the dwellings are erected as simply as the walls. The roof beams, which are usually untrimmed, with only the branches and bark removed, are placed horizontally across two facing walls at a distance from each other of about 70 centimeters, and are fixed in the walls in this position. A layer of brushwood is used which is about twenty centimeters thick. This forms the ceiling of the room, just as it is. The richer people use decorative carved roof beams, and instead of the reeds, short round willow sticks about five centimeters thick, which are laid right next to each other, between one beam and the next, as is shown in Figure 84, p. 66a.

/Figure 84. Caption: Sart Room Ceilings/

In those rare cases when the ceilings of the rooms are made of short boards which are laid perpendicularly across the roof beams, these boards are cut in such a way as to give the impression of being not boards but round sticks of wood. This proves that the original way of construction of the ceilings was of sticks of wood, and therefore it is still considered the norm.

342 Among the rich the ceilings of the rooms are painted, often
363 very artistically, with very intricate and highly complicated arabesques,

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Fig. 66 Sart Room Ceilings.

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[353]
which are composed of the brightest possible blue, red, green and yellow colors; and sometimes gold is also used.

The ceilings which are made, as described above, of beams and reeds, brushwood, wooden sticks or boards, are now covered again with a layer of clay about a foot thick, which likewise consists of loess earth and straw. The clay intended to cover the roofs is prepared with special care, for the horizontal roofs suffer much more from rain and snow than the walls, which are affected by the downpours only /233/ /Figure 85, p. 67a. Caption: A View of Hissar in East Bukhara. (After a photograph by Willy R. Rickmers.)./ /234/ from the side, and in any case dry out again quickly. The clay intended to cover the roofs is mixed with a large quantity of straw, up to fifty per cent, moistened with much water, and then it is left to ferment for about a week, and is stirred frequently. When the material is properly prepared it is put on top of the roof in layers, and each layer is flattened down with the greatest care with bare feet. Those who are flattening down the roofs, usually half-naked workers, move in their work with a dance step which gives them a very comical appearance.

During the rainy season these clay roofs are always covered with a luxurious growth of grass and in early spring with a mass of wild tulips.

Since these flat roofs are exposed in winter to the direct effects of rain and snow, they always develop defects in a relatively short time, and cracks appear, through which water from the rain and snow leaks into the houses. The dogs are particularly hard on these roofs and are always running about on them and harming them with their scratching. For these reasons the layers of clay must be repaired every fall before the rainy season begins, and must be completely replaced from time to time.

The flat houseroofs are a favorite place of abode of the natives: during the hot season people sleep on them, and they are a place where the morning and evening prayers are performed, while on sunny winter days the women perform their domestic tasks there. (Figure 62, p. 20a, p. 173; Figure 85, p. 67a, p. 233; Figure 86, p. 68a.).

The dwelling houses of the natives, which are built in the manner described above, are absolutely fireproof, and during the entire fifteen years of my stay in Central Asia there was never a fire to my knowledge. When the agent of a fire insurance company appeared in Tashkent several years ago, he was greeted with the same kind of hilarity by the people of Tashkent as someone would be among us if he wanted

E. von Schwarz--67a N-5 (ca 1895) 1900 RL1 Turkestan RL1

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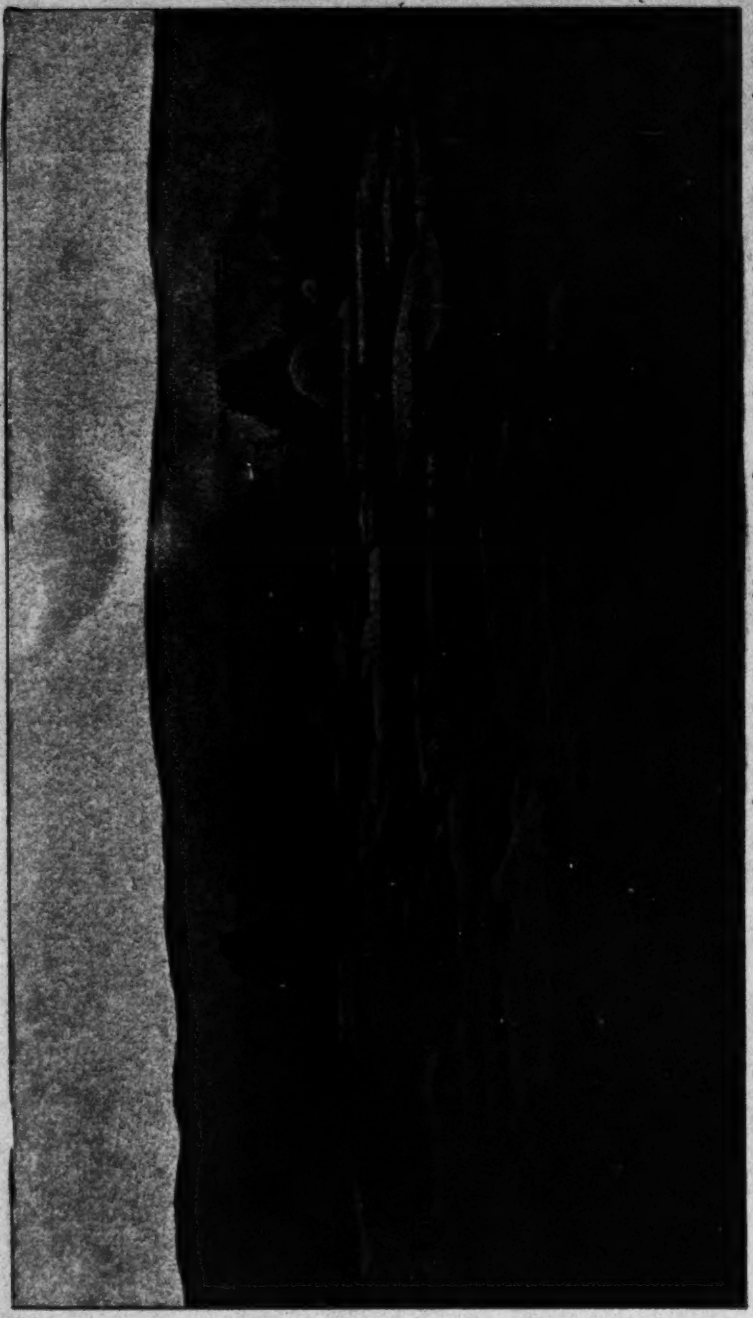

Fig. 8. A View of Hissar in East Bukhara. (After a photograph by Willy R. Rickmers.)

342 to insure our houses against some sort of damage from aerolites.

The manner of building used today in Turkestan obviously dates back to very ancient times, and one can assume, with certainty, that the houses here have never been built in any other way than they are at present. The loess earth which is available in abundance at every building site is such a tractable and useful material, and the buildings constructed with it are so solid and relatively long lasting thanks to the extraordinary dryness of the climate, that the inhabitants have never had occasion to look around for another material. The lack of firewood does not permit the use of firebricks for the building of private houses, for /235/ Figure 16. Caption: A View of Khiva from the West. / /236/ there are no woods in the oases of Turkestan and only reeds and the wood of garden trees can be used for burning material. Two important circumstances stand in the way of using stones for house construction. First of all, walls erected from unhewn stones can withstand earthquakes much less successfully than clay walls; secondly, there are no stones at all in loess regions, and they would have to be collected from the mountains, hundreds of kilometers away, which in the absence of highways and bridges is absolutely unthinkable. It can be clearly concluded from the history of Alexander the Great, that already in his time the houses and town walls were erected in the same way as today. Arrian writes that the town walls of Ghaz (probably the modern Nau, as I have deduced in my monograph Alexanders des grossen Feldzüge in Turkestan /The Campaigns of Alexander the Great in Turkestan/) were built of earth and were not high.

> /He reports further that Alexander had the town of Alexandria on the Tanais, the present-day Khodzhent /Leninabad/ built in 20 days, with town walls and houses. Curtius has reduced this to 17 days. This would only have been possible if Alexander had built the town in the way that the Khodzhent of today and the other towns of Turkestan are still being built. --Translator/

342 172 It can be concluded, that the towns of Turkestan were built in the manner still used today even during the periods of glory under the rule of the Arabs and the Timurides, from the fact that no remnants of masonry erected of stone or firebricks have been found in any great volume. All the town ruins still in existence prove that everywhere only public buildings were built of firebricks, and even this was only since the time of the Arabs; on the other hand, except for the splendid

: von Schwarz--68a N-5 (ca 1895) 1900 RLI Turkestan RII

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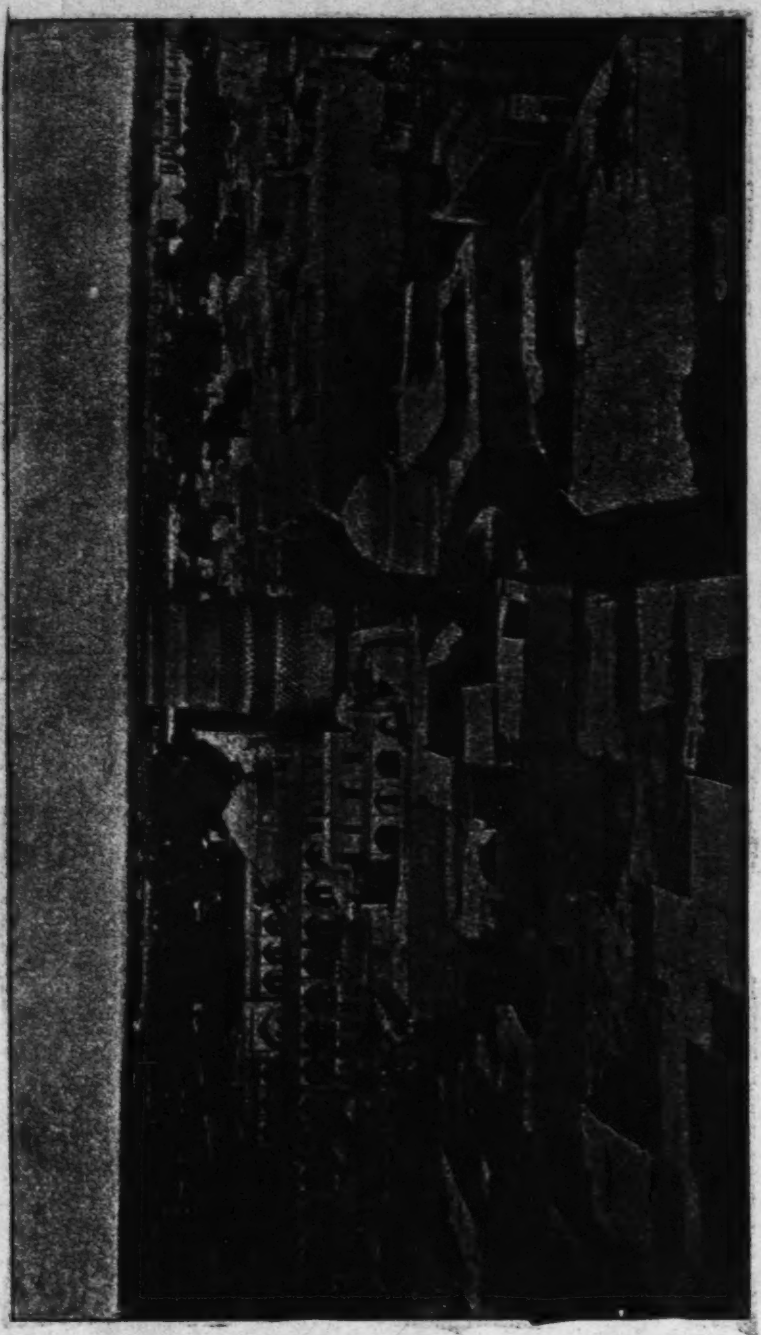

Fig. [illegible] A View of Khiva from the West.

342 Tamerlane buildings in Samarkand, one finds not a trace of stone buildings
172 in the plains. These are found only in mountain regions, in the Darvaz and Badakhshan ranges and the like, where even today in some places the houses are erected of unhewn stones, for the simple reason that there is no loess there and the climate is damper than in the lowlands.

In prehistoric times the inhabitants of Turkestan must have lived in artificial underground caves and passages made in the loess ground; this is demonstrated among other things by the passages and holes found in Samarkand and lately also near Karti on the Amu-Darya. These are extensive and form unmistakable underground towns.

354 The interior arrangement of the dwellings is just as simple as the dwellings themselves. There are no stoves anywhere; instead, usually, I have found a 'kamin' /fire place/ in Afghan Turkestan and among the Taranchis of the Ili valley. /237/ which are completely similar to those used by us. Real heating of the living rooms would not be possible in any case even with a stove, because the doors close only very imperfectly, and are even completely lacking among the poorer people, and because the window openings, when there are any are either quite open or most often pasted over with thin paper. Glass windows are not used by the natives, and both the very rich people and the khans themselves pass the cold season of the year in unheated rooms into which the air enters freely. The felt yurts /tents/ of the nomads offer much better protection in winter against the cold and inclement weather than the dwellings of even the richest of the sedentary population. The Kazakhs are therefore perfectly right in preferring their yurts to the walled dwelling houses.

In order to keep warm during the bitterest cold the natives of Turkestan use wrought-iron braziers, resting on four legs, like those in use in ancient times in Greece and Rome. /Figure 87, p. 69a. Caption: Brazier of Turkestan./ This brazier, after it is filled with glowing embers, is placed under a small table, round or square, twenty to forty centimeters in height, which is then covered with a large quilted cotton coverlit. The members of the family now seat themselves on the floor around this little table and stretch their hands and feet out under the coverlet in the space warmed by the coals. In Figure 87 there is such a brazier drawn from life, shown with the tongs and coal shovel which belong to it.

For the poor people who cannot afford the luxury of a brazier, there is nothing left but to freeze and sometimes to freeze to death, par-

354 ticularly if they lack an adequate supply of warm clothes and covers as well. Every great cold costs a number of lives in the towns of Turkestan and the natives judge the degree of cold, in the absence of meteorological instruments, by the number of persons frozen to death during the course of a night. In 1879, when the temperature once sank to 27° Centigrade below freezing in Tashkent, in the Sart section of
[171] that town, 126 natives froze to death /238/ in one night. Here one can marvel at the stubborness with which the people hang on to what is traditional. Although the natives have the Russian household establishments before their eyes and are aware of their efficiency, it still does not occur to them to imitate the latter, even when they have the means to do so.

342 The doors which lead from the courts into the living rooms are usually very low, so that one can only pass through by stooping. In most cases, these doors take the place of the window as well, and therefore are present in large numbers in the larger rooms. The doors always consist of two parts which do not move on hinges but on two pegs fixed in the lintel and the threshold. They always push inward and are so small that each time one must open both parts in order to enter.
[353] Among the rich the door wings are usually adorned with artistic intertwining arabesques carved in the wood, or at least painted with bright red, green or blue colors. Since in Turkestan poplar wood, which is not very solid, is used almost exclusively for building and wood carving and it is usually worked and finished before it has completely dried out, the door posts and door wings are always more or less warped as they dry out, and consequently they close either badly or not at all. The fastening of the door is peculiar: outside one part of the door is a short iron chain, and on the other part a peg is fastened ending in a ring. The last link of the chain, which has a slit through it, is hung over this ring. If such doors are to be locked, a padlock is hung on the ring mentioned above.

There are windows only in the houses of the richer people, while the poorer ones must be satisfied with the light entering through the doorway. The window opening in its dimension is always greater horizontally than vertically in private houses, is always found over the door, and therefore in every room there are as many windows as doors. The window opening is either left completely open or it is covered with a grating of wood or alabaster in order to prevent the entrance of swallows and sparrows, of which there is an enormous number here, as well as of other birds. The sticks of which the wooden

grating is put together, are not simply set in crosswise, but are intertwined in more or less complicated ways into arabesques. One of the simplest forms of this window grating is that shown in Figure 88. The basic form of the alabaster grating is often an imitation of the wooden grating. During the winter these window gratings are often covered with white cigarette paper or with writing paper treated with oil to keep out the draughts of air. The interior of the dwellings is almost always veiled in half darkness because of the lack of windows, and the /239/ wide projecting roofs of the verandas; and when the door wings are open one can read or do close work right next to the door (cf. Figure 72, p. 201, and Figure 79, p. 223). /Figure 88. Caption: Window Grating of Turkestan./

Just inside the main entrance of the living quarters is a square recess which serves as a washing and bathing place, a place where one can pour water, and for the removal of overshoes.

The floor of the room consists simply of clay, and is always covered with a plain reed mat or felt covering, depending on the financial means of the owner, or with a greater or smaller number of costly carpets.

For ventilation there is an opening in the roof in which a short cylindrical pipe of burned clay is placed. Since rain and snow can enter unhindered through this opening, the ventilation openings are often found also in the sides of the walls just under the roof.

Room furniture in the dwellings of the Central Asians is either completely absent or is found in very small quantity. They have no idea of tables, chairs, couches and our many cupboards and chests of drawers. In place of our clothing and kitchen cupboards and chests of drawers, in Turkestan various niches are fixed in the walls for this purpose, occupying all four walls of the room as a rule. These niches are either simple recesses in the walls, like our blind windows, or they are partitions made artistically of alabaster, as can be seen in Figure 123. These niches serve for the hanging up of clothes and underwear and for the storage of dinner plates, wash basins, water pitchers and teapots, water pipes, candlesticks, preserves and food, occasional books, and the like. As for real furniture, the natives of Turkestan are only acquainted with bedsteads, cradles, chests, and the small low table already mentioned for the coal pan.

The poorer population and also a good part of the rich simply sleep on the floor. A blanket serves as a bed, over which one or more quilted cotton covers are spread, depending on what can be afforded.

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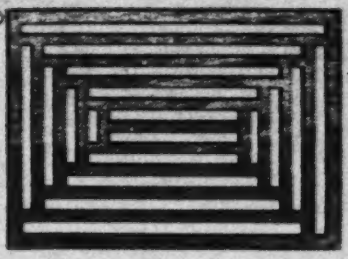

Fig. 88. Window Grating of Turkestan.

when it is hung up on the ceiling of the room or veranda or on a tree branch. /Figure 92. Caption: Washing Utensils./ 352

/244/ If we add to what has already been mentioned a number of tambourines and various instruments, then we have accounted for practically everything which is to be found among the furnishings of a dwelling of a prosperous native. In the dwellings of the poor most of the objects mentioned are missing, and the whole set of furniture for them is reduced to a water pitcher, a water pipe of the simplest kind, some earthenware basins and reed mats and some bed covers full of holes, richly stained and shining with dirt. [534]

This relatively simple arrangement and equipment of the dwellings is primarily due to the fact that it is intended for the residence of the occupants only during the short winter. Otherwise it serves only as a storage place for the movable property of the owner, who lives for the greater part of the year above all in the courts or in the gardens and also sleeps in the open. The veranda is much more important for the Central Asian than the living quarters, for on the veranda, winter and summer, he carries on his household tasks, if he has any, talks with his neighbors and acquaintances, takes his meals and the like. Thus the veranda cannot be omitted even in the dwelling of the poorest person. This is a covered colonnade, raised somewhat above the level of the court, and attached to the living quarters (Figure 93). The roof of the veranda forms the continuation of the roof of the living quarters and is supported on the outer side by a series of wooden columns, made either of completely rough and unhewn beams or else carved more or less artistically. Among the richer people the floor of this colonnade is covered with blankets or carpets, and among the poorer people it is covered with reed mats (cf. also Figure 57, p. 165, and Figure 85, p. 233). 342 [512]

There are no real kitchens in the houses of the natives. The fireplace is simply established in the court in the summer, while in the winter it is in the middle of the living room. The only cooking utensil, in which practically all the native dishes are prepared, consists, as among the nomads, of a cast iron kettle. This varies in size, is imported from Russia, and resembles those used by our washwomen. This kettle is either placed over a trench dug in the ground, or on a semicircular elevation made of clay. For the roasting of small pieces of meat, called shashlik, they use a wooden skewer which is held with the hand alone over the fire on top of the ground. There are no further utensils in the kitchen of a Turkestan household. 252 415

[Cf. cat. 116, pp. 71-75--Analyst]

351 to water the trees, for, of course, nothing grows without artificial irrigation. What makes the Europeans uncomfortable in these otherwise splendid gardens is the complete absence of green grass. This is caused by the fact that the canals which serve only for the watering of the trees all cut deeply into the earth, and therefore cannot be used to water the surfaces. For this reason the earth floor in the gardens has the same monotonous yellow gray coloring as the courts, streets and garden walls, and in the best cases it is grown over with dry straw-yellow spear grass and other weeds which have grown up from the previous rainy season.

/248/ Somewhere in the middle of the garden a pool is dug out and along its edge a square terrace is built of clay, one to two meters high, depending on the circumstances, which serves as a place to stay during the warmer part of the year. These terraces, which one finds in the courts and gardens of the natives and also at every step in the open squares of the towns and villages, are necessary in order to escape from the dampness and the effluvia and fevers which announce themselves especially after sundown by a peculiar aroma.

The natives live on these terraces, which are shaded by tall
342 trees whenever possible. They live either under the open sky or set up so-called Bukharan tents on the terraces, if their means permit. The Russians also have a special fondness for these tents and use them on journeys and in their gardens because of their efficiency. The tents have the form of a cube and are covered with a pyramid-shaped roof. They are very light and convenient to carry, and never take more than a few minutes to set up. /Figure 95. Caption: Bukharan tent./ R78a

The Bukharan tents are made of three parts: two folding screens, and an umbrella-like roof which is set up between them. The folding-screens, which are each 2 meters high and 6 meters wide, consist of strong doubled cotton material of a light green color, into which are sewn nine thick upright wooden poles at equal distances from each other. These screens are set up in such a way that the third and seventh upright posts form the corners and the rest of the posts form the sides. (Figure 95). The four edges of the pyramid-shaped roof are also formed by wooden poles sewn into the material. The roof is simply set on the ends of the vertical corner poles of the folding screens by means of special nooses made of cotton bands which are fastened around the poles. In addition, a number of small wooden pins are fastened around the edges of the roof, and over them are R78a

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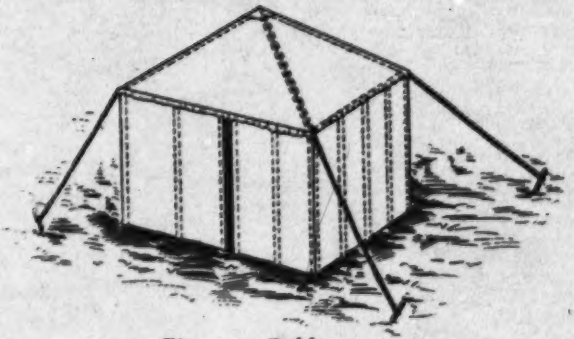

Fig. 55. Bukharan tent.

342 hung the nooses which are sewn on the upper borders of the folding screens. /249/ This is done in order to make a tighter fit between the roof and the walls. White cotton cords are fastened to the upper ends of the four corner poles and their other ends tied as tightly as possible to four wooden tent-pins hammered into the earth or to nearby trees. This is done to give the tent the necessary stability and to protect it from being blown over by the wind. The roof is provided all the way around with an edging about the breadth of a hand, and this edging hangs outside the side walls and thus prevents rain from entering. The tent walls are lined on the inside with strips of silk and silk mixed with cotton which are tastefully cut and form a pleasing design as a whole, as well as increasing the thickness of the walls at the same time. The ends of the wooden poles which are sewn in, as well as the ends of the roof are covered over with strong yellow leather to prevent their being worn out easily. A tent of this kind has a total height of 3 meters, covers an area of about 9 square meters, and at the same time weighs only 36 kilograms. The Bukharan tents afford complete protection against rain and wind; when it is very hot, however, one uses only the front and rear wall, so that it is open where the two folding screens meet, in order to provide comfortable cross ventilation.

The form of the Bukharan tent just described is the usual one. There are in addition to these, however, tents of much larger dimensions but with the same arrangement, and these are used, especially in Bukhara, by personages of high rank for rooms of state and for the reception of important guests.

What has been said thus far about the living arrangements of the natives of Turkestan relates chiefly to the quarters intended for the men. The women's quarters differ from the men's chiefly in that the stables are naturally omitted, and therefore their quarters take up much less space than the men's. In other respects, however, the women's quarters also retain the division into living quarters, courtyards, and gardens, and also the living quarters and their arrangement do not differ essentially from that of the men's quarters.

162 619 184 cularly in Kashgar, the first town on the other side of the border. The domiciled population there is made up of the so-called Turki people, more or less pure-blooded East Turks, who also profess the Mohammedan faith. As both Turkestans are provinces of countries of different race, the influence of ethnologically unrelated foreigners is strong: Russian influence in Western Turkestan and that of the Chinese in Eastern Turkestan. These foreigners hold the more important government positions, and also engage in commerce, particularly in the export trade.

●342 The houses of the people of Turkestan show the same character everywhere. They are cubic structures, built of sun-dried brick round open courts, and shut off from the street (see ill. page 1441).[1]

291 The dress of the groups mentioned above is also essentially similar. In all Islamic countries dress is governed by the same law, so that the same elements and even the same fabrics are found again and again. Needless to say, the profession of the wearer and his financial status result in differences, particularly in the quality and embellishment of the material. The various districts also show certain peculiarities of dress which make it possible to determine the part of the country from which the wearer comes. In all these cases, however, the differences are no more than variations of the same elementary forms.

The leg-wear of the men consists of white

1 [See cat. 116, p 24.-- Analyst]
2 [Tajiks, Uzbegs, Sarts --Analyst]

287 yet at the same time pliable material consists of several stages. First of all the wool is spread out on the ground in a thick layer, where it is vigorously beaten with rods, a task performed by women and girls. It is then placed on a straw mat, also in an even layer, and sprayed with hot water in order to make it pliable. After that the mass is rolled up in the mat, and this roll is moved to and fro for hours until the wool has become felted. In Eastern Turkestan the Kirghiz make their yak oxen drag the roll back and forward. The felt is of the same colour as the natural wool, that is to say, white, brown, or fawn. White felt is regarded as the
[531] best of all. Patterned rugs are made by cutting out pieces of felt of contrasting colours, and arranging them on the layer of wool as desired. They are then stamped and pressed in until the whole mass becomes firmly felted together. In Western Turkestan the Kirghiz prefer angular geometrical patterns, in Eastern Turkestan undulating ribbon-like lines are more usual (see ill. p. 1460).

342 The felt made in the manner described above is so strong that the Kirghiz and other nomad peoples of Asia use it as a material for making tents; these are called alajak by the Kirghiz, kibitka in Russian, and yurt in Turk-

[See p. 75--Analyst]

342

Kirghiz tents. The tent on the right shows part of the wicker framework of the roof.

342 ish. The Kirghiz tent may be described as a portable house (see ill. p. 1457). The frame consists of three parts, the walls, which are made of trellissed laths that can easily be folded up, the roof-frame, and a ring to which wall-frame and roof-frame are secured. The whole structure can be taken to pieces in a very short time, transported by a camel to a fresh pasture, and re-erected without great difficulty. After the framework has been set up, it is first surrounded by mats made of reeds, which bear a pattern formed by wrapping coloured threads round the stalks. These bold patterns with their angular geometrical figures are visible from afar. According to the time of the year the roof or the whole kibitka is covered with felt, which is tied down by means of cords. Against the burning heat of summer as well as the icy winter blizzards the felt kibitka affords the best protection imaginable.

287 531 Tents of similar kind are used by the Turkoman nomads. Unlike those of the Kirghiz, where the materials consist mainly of felt and leather, the Turkoman tents are characterized by the predominance of fabrics worked according to the technique of carpet-knotting.

[184] The perfection of this technique and the great variety of articles produced demonstrate the advanced stage of Turkoman civilization as compared with that of the Kirghiz. The knot-technique gives to the tent as well as to articles of daily use an artistic character which in no way impairs the mobility of the household.

Most of the rectangular Turkoman rugs were hung in the opening of the tents, where they served as substitutes for doors. None of the older pieces are larger than the moderately wide tent-openings. Some Turkoman tribes fixed a specially decorative piece, also worked in the knot-technique, above the entrance. The

7 [See p 67 -- Analyst]

5: Pipes S-4 (1953) 1955 RLl Turkestan RLl

352 The same principle applies to housing and furniture. The natives adopt
177 freely and widely articles of utility, such as kerosene lamps, samovars, and iron stoves. But they resist efforts of the authorities to introduce chairs, tables, and bedsteads, which to them seem quite unnecessary. "Not only those collective farm families sleep on the floor which as yet have no bedsteads," writes a recent Soviet observer of conditions in the Kirghiz republic. "Sometimes a purchased bedstead, instead of being used for its purpose, stands all made up as a decoration, while the family continues [353] sleeping on the floor." [2] Even the most Westernized Muslim intelligentsia in the cities demonstrate a desire to preserve a link with tradition by decorating a single room of an otherwise Western-style apartment in the native manner.

342 House construction among the old settled groups of the population seems
177 to follow traditional lines, with minor innovations, such as the use of whitewash for the walls and floors. Among the recently settled nomads, whom the Soviet regime wishes to have acquire permanent buildings, a curious compromise has been attained: the natives spend one part of their time in the permanent structures and another part in the traditional yurt (nomadic tent) erected alongside the houses. On the whole, one gains the impression that among the Turkic groups which had been settled during and since the period of collectivization, the yurt continues to prevail, while in the mountains it is still the exclusive shelter of native inhabitants.

183 The general picture which emerges from a survey of native customs
177 indicates that they are adhered to far more loyally than are religious traditions. The causes for this are threefold. In the first place, a considerable part of the native population of Central Asia was only superficially affected by Islam, while remaining loyal to local traditions. In the second place, national traditions are on the whole not contrary to the spirit of Westernization, and can in most cases be well adapted to the demands of a secular, utilitarian society. And, finally, the Soviet regime treats local customs far more gingerly than religion, trying to destroy them more through example and infiltration than through outright suppression. The native population clings to its customs, surrendering them only when they are utterly incompatible with material progress of society, and when it does modify traditions, it tries to synthesize the innovations with tradition. The native may be persuaded that it is a good thing to possess an iron bedstead, but often he cannot be convinced that sleeping on a bed is preferable to sleeping on the floor. Similarly, he may agree that eating by fork and spoon is hygenically preferable to eating by hand, but he refuses to agree that pork and potatoes are superior to lamb and rice. This attitude gives native customs a considerable resiliency to external pressures.

[2] S. M. Abramzon, *Ocherki kul'tury kirgizskogo naroda* (Frunze, 1946), p. 75. Abramzon's book supplies interesting data on the culture of the Kirghiz in the post-World War II era, much of which supports the conclusions derived from interviews with refugees.

[1] [i.e., the discarding of traditions for no reasons other than utility -- Analyst]

8:Kostenko -91-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
/388/ II. RL1

000 The Characteristics of the Native Dwellings.

The characteristics of the populated places of the native population. The structure of the houses: walls, roofs, floors, windows, etc. The interior decoration of the lodging. Means of heating. The general appearance of the towns and villages. The nomad dwelling. The yurt: the component parts, the decoration, etc. The value of the Kazakh portable domicile.

342 The form of life of the two chief representatives of the peoples of the Turkestan region, the nomads and the sedentary people, also determines the character of their dwellings.

361 All the locations of the sedentary, so called Sart population in the Turkestan territory are very similar to each other externally, so it is enough to see one to get an idea of all of them.

Although the native sedentary settlements in Turkestan are divided into towns and villages (kishlaks), this division is only nominal. The entire difference between the Central Asian town and the village lies in the fact that a town, according to Moslem law, must be surrounded by a public wall, must have a citadel (ark), and must include not less than
342 three mosques. The town walls and the houses are always made of clay, a material directly available under foot. The houses are flat and squat. They consist of one or several square courtyards, surrounded with buildings. The living quarters are primarily one-story buildings and in general all are without foundations and socles.

342 If one does find a two-story building, the second story is either a covered terrace (balakhane), or there is a storage place there for the drying of fruit and vegetables. The actual construction of the native /389/ buildings is done by a process resembling a framework construction. On the place where the walls are to be, low frames are placed in one row or two.(foundation beams). Supports are laid on top of these, close to each other, which are also reinforced from above by a frame (capping). Cross beams are placed on the slant in the spaces between the supports. Then they begin to build the walls of lumps of clay. These walls are usually very thin, not thicker than 6 vershok (one vershok is 1-3/4 inches -ed.). After this beams are laid across the top, spaced 12 vershok apart, and these spaces between the beams are filled in with sticks (about three-quarters of an inch long) on which they throw reeds or reed wattlings. After this they need only smear clay on this structure several times, mixing thin straw in the clay, and the roof (ceiling) is ready. The windows for the most part open on the courtyard and are closed over with wooden sticks in the manner of barred windows in prisons. They are sometimes covered with greased paper. The windows are made quite high up on the walls and are extremely small, not larger than half an inch in diameter. Wealthy Sarts build a veranda (gallery) on the eastern side of the courtyard, supported by wooden columns decorated with carving.

In such houses the walls are usually plastered with alabaster with carved decorations which the Sarts do with great skill.

342 In the walls there are many niches of various sizes, decorated with arabesques and sometimes with a painting of a flower, without perspective. The depiction of animals or humans is strictly forbidden by the Koran. In addition to this, the rich decorate the ceilings with bright colors and make their windows, if not of glass, at least with decorated wooden or plaster lattices. The floors of the houses are either of earth or paved with flat square fire brick.

Sart houses and the old clay partitions, which always have many cracks, are inhabited [136] by 'falanga' (a kind of poisonous spider) and scorpions. The sting of the falanga, if precautionary measures are not observed, can be very painful and can sometimes be fatal.

The living quarters are divided into two halves: the men's and the women's (the harem). Usually below the harem there is another deeper courtyard.

352 /390/ There is no furniture. The furnishing of the rooms consists of Russian chests sometimes covered by rugs. The rich also cover their floors with rugs or carpets 354 without nap (palas). They do not make stoves. In order to keep warm in winter, they put hot coals in a hollowed out place in the middle of the room, or simply into a clay vessel (pan), and over this they put a stool. The stool is covered with a blanket and its ends touch the ground. Then the Sart sits or lies around the heater and covers his feet with the blanket.

341 In their construction they use neither a level nor a plumb line, so that all the

361 Syr-Darya oblast' are in Tashkent. The Russian town has been built very regularly and originally. The broad streets are lined with two rows of poplar trees growing at the same rate, and this gives the town the appearance of a luxurious [342] park. Little sun-dried brick houses, almost all of one story, appear through the trees. Many of them have iron roofs decorated with red or green paint. In recent times, moreover, several public and private buildings have been built of fired brick and some are several stories high. Beside almost every small house is its own little garden, in which there are se- [367] veral fruit trees. The best garden in the town is the one by the house of the Governor General. His garden is kept up very well, and all through the summer and fall it is open to the public. On certain days there is military band music there. In addition, a garden planted earlier by the natives also adjoins the town. This is known as 'myn-uryuk'(which means, 'a thousand apricot trees'), and it too is visited by the [312] Tashkent public. The streets and gardens are irrigated by broad aryks, which serve in addition for sprinkling the streets. The streets are sprinkled every day in the summer, and as a result there is much less dust in the town, [366] and it also makes it cooler. Many handsome stores have been built in Tashkent, in which all products of European industry can be procured, only they are very expensive here. At [368] the bazaars one can obtain native goods. There is an observatory in Tashkent (2½ versts from the town), a theater, a classical preparatory school for boys and one for girls, and several hotels.

361 their steep banks, pathways and narrow roads,
133 the snakes winding over the precipices, all this makes an unforgettable impression. With every step the views change, as though in a kaleidoscope and appear more and more striking and more effective.

[137] In the Alatau mountains the spruce is the tree which grows in the greatest abundance. After it, but much less abundant, are the apple trees, the apricots, the 'dzhida', the ashtrees, the juniper and even the birch.

361 The town of Vernyy is divided into the following parts: the Almata station (the old part of the town), the Almata settlement, the Tatar suburb, and Novyy (New town), actually the town which has developed since the beginning of the 1870s.

The latter part consists to a considerable degree of stone, or, more precisely, brick buildings, while the old parts of the town are built up exclusively of spruce wood.

[363] Both the old and the new town have been planned regularly. The streets are straight, level and wide, in most cases planted (although quite sparsely) with trees. There are often small gardens near the houses.

361 The wooden houses of Vernyy, which look
342 like Russian huts with wooden roofs, are almost all cold, first of all because they are caulked up not with moss (1) but with hay, which /421/ partly rots, and is partly dragged apart by the birds, for which reason cracks are always forming in the walls.

361 1. In Russia, as we know, a special
342 kind of moss is used for this purpose,
which is called kukushkin len (cuckoo
flax).

Secondly, the wooden floors and ceilings, as they shrink, acquire cracks, which also admit the cold. In addition the inhabitants do not know the use of double windows in winter.(1)

1. One must add the danger of fire to the inconveniences of the wooden structures. In 1871 there were three fires in Vernyy with losses figured at 3,462 rubles, 70 kopecks.

361 The number of buildings in Vernyy are as follows:

Types of buildings	Stone	Wood
[368] Churches (2)	1	1

2. A cathedral is being built, for which the foundation is already laid.

Mosques	-	1
Houses	234	972
Uninhabited buildings	4	9
[366] Stalls		226
Bins and Booths		164
Eating establishments (3)		21

3. Some of these are built of adobe clay and some of softened clay.

Mills		62
Total number of buildings	239	1,456

8:Kostenko 151-G-4,5 (1868-80)1880 RL1 Turkestan
RL1
[Kuldja]

563 Having lived in the midst of Chinese
177 civilization and in Chinese surroundings, the Taranchi, both in Kuldja and in other towns in the Ili province, have taken over very much from the Chinese. Their wives walk about the streets with their faces uncovered, in spite of the strict precept of the shariat to cover the face with a thick veil. In the houses, a somewhat improved furnishing has been introduced: plank beds have been put up in the rooms, tables have been added, stools, and even easy chairs of the simplest construction. Also in matters of dress the Taranchi do not hold strictly to the precepts of the Koran, and they have learned to change the wide and awkward khalat for the shorter and more convenient kaftan from time to time. In addition, the Chinese taught the Taranchi the use of coal for fuel and factory production, etc., etc.

The Taranchi are the predominant population of Old Kuldja. This is also why the appearance of the town is not purely Chinese
[346] in character. It is notable that the two main mosques in Kuldja are built in a pure Chinese style, while the Chinese idol temple looks like the lowest sort of hovel.

361 There are a very few buildings left in
342 Kuldja built of fire brick with ornamental figures, and with tile roofs. These were already built by the Chinese. Almost all the houses are adobe, /431/ with roofs made of reeds, squat, dark, unsightly, a type which is common among the buildings of the Moslems in Central Asian towns.

361 In the town are two bazaars: the Taranchi